/349 cont./

796
[354]

Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554]

58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2)) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

[833]

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833]

At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations
836 with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

• 833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/380 cont./

833
829

/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

835

There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833]

The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881

833

[756]

In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the paje or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

• 833

*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

588 835

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
• 833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the paje Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the paje, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukina*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712
[361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
712
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361
504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504
833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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614
proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small 621
malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a 342
square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The
distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well [177]
known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The ad-
vantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it can-
not be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear.
It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the
parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage.
When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually
on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will
qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must
regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following 342
spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the
central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front
end, a communal kitchen and women's quarters at the rear. The
living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A
12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along
each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of
living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a [354]
hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that
resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared 342
with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own 513
hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the 352
hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts.
The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are
lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from
outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The
rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it
tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging [353]
hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no [833]
partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we
have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. [514]
The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recog-
nized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one 342
another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house [572]
sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage [574]
facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and [352]
the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article [353]
that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkũ* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümũ* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekũ* (male) or *bekó* (female).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hũrũ*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of [843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it 843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con- 833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children 842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear 847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing [833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband 842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disinclined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to [586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis- [562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents—with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the malora so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

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825 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
773 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekũku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

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826 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
[833] have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.
826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.
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[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd buteí* (literally, hair tobacco).